1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954) 1957 MP5 Amhara MP5
Ethiopia MP1

AE 563

other southern provinces, who are considered more "primitive" in their material culture, and many of whom are "pagan".

AE 563

Emperor Haile Selassie has urged the Coptic clergy to "raise to Christianity" even peoples despised as "unworthy" by the old patterns. As a result, peoples like the Agau (incl. the Qemant) who have long been neighbors to the western Amhara, and the laboring Gurage near Addis Ababa, have been converted and occupy status somewhere between level 1. and 2., depending on the wealth they have been able to accumulate by past labors. The Qemants have become favorites of the clergy at Gondar because of their generous donations to the local Coptic churches.

AE 563 [826]

The people of coffee-rich Jimma, in Kaffa province, enjoy respect within level 2. because they had been left with internal autonomy during the rule of Menelik II; and because they are believed to be a slightly higher physical type than other infidels (they are considered "wammate", people with wrinkles at the corner of the mouth). Perhaps due to their old wealth based on coffee, slave and gold trade, they are envied; but they are regarded as "people of dissolute moral habits" by the Amharas.

AE 463 563

3. Laboring peoples and classes; non-Coptic; despised, in the old patterns of behavior.

This includes all occupational groups that did or do the ironsmithing, leather tanning, skilled or non-skilled manual labor. Among them are the lower classes of the Galla (mentioned before); the non-Coptic Gurage; the Falasha who live in small rural communities in Begemdir province, who do most of the ironsmithing and pottery-making there, and who practice a Mosaic form of Judaism.

461 often a member of a socially lower ethnic group (see sec-
554 tion B), such an Amhara would become "detribalized", sus-
pected of having learned occult powers (e.g. in smith-
craft), and suspected of being no longer an observant and
563 believing Copt. As a result of his ostracism, he may then
461 very likely marry a girl from the socially lower ethnic
554 group, and his children would be social halfbreeds. If that
ethnic group were Shanqalla (negroid, ex-slave), his chil-
dren would also be racially, as well as socially, mixed, and
be relegated to the servant class. Thus the prediction of
the proverb would have come full cycle. This process can
be observed in Gondar, Addis Ababa, and wherever a market
town develops out of the more conservative, rural milieu.

566 Before the abrogation of the major feudal privileges
463 by the present emperor, the feudal lord could and did put
skilled specialists to work without specific wages or limit
of service. Moreover, the skilled specialist would often
be worse off than the unskilled serf. For while the latter
would at least be permitted, usually, to remain at his place
of origin, the skilled specialists were very often required
to accompany the feudal troops and resettle in an alien
province, cut off from their kinfolk.

Smiths had to produce and repair weapons, masons to
build churches, weavers to make togas and adornments, brew-
ers of honeywine and musician-bards to prepare feasts and
entertainments, etc. The chief quartermaster and "treasurer"
carried the title "bajirond" and was usually a skilled and
trusted master craftsman himself. In reward, he and some
of the other skilled specialists might be allocated new

566 land fiefs in conquered territory, and he was, as special
463 favor, permitted to wear the long cotton shirt, "qamis"
under the common shamma (toga), and over the old style nar-
892 rowing kneepants; cotton jodphurs and sandals remained the
prerogative of feudal lords. Most of the skilled crafts-
men never rose that high but spent their lives accompany-
ing troops as tentmakers, carpenters, smiths, horn cup
fashioners, tanners, or, at best, as silversmiths and em-
broiderers of harness and saddle coverings for feudal chiefs.

181 The material culture of the Amhara(still continuing
183 among the rural Amhara) is therefore a composite of the
566 equipment of the settled peasant and of the formerly itiner-
176 ant feudal lord and his troop of soldier-retainers and
specialists (many of the latter from socially inferior eth-
754 nic groups). Moreover, the settled peasant feared not only
the actual "evil eye" of the rapacious warlord, but also
the spiritually conceived"evil eye". Both factors undoub-
tedly contributed to the conservatism and the pattern of
maximum utilization of natural products with a minimum of
invention; leaving the exercise of ingenuity for other
elaborations of culture.

1. Living Standards

A. The Rural Settlement:

621 The typical residential unit is the hamlet ("tis", or,
if several on one large hill, "mender"), rather than a vil-
lage. The hamlet may consist of from two to a dozen huts,
with the mode about five residential huts ("tuqul"). Thus
the hamlet is often little more than an isolated or a semi-
isolated farmstead, though another hamlet may occupy the
other side of the same hill.

576 is called "qammash", an important etiquette. Its origin may stem from the well-known oriental pattern of protecting an important personage from being poisoned, and since the feudal lord is still imitated among the Amhara, even by peasants, the custom is still prevalent in rural areas, provincial towns, and even in Addis Ababa.

E. Utensils and Tools.

322 Whenever possible, the Amhara likes to utilize direct products of nature, such as natural shape of branches, branch forks, branches at the right angle (e.g.for adzes), gradual thickening of a branch of hardwood (e.g. for ax handles). Much time is spent in the bush looking for the right wood, for there is no carpentry on any developed level. Sawing is unknown. So is splitting of wood to prepare boards, so that laborious chopping away at a log from both sides would be necessary. Nailing and gluing is still not done in rural areas. To drill a hole in wood, the blacksmith is called and burns a hole with an iron poke. Oxhide strips are used for fastening.

412 415 Therefore there are very few wooden utensils. Spoons and forks are not used by the Amhara. During dinner, pieces of enjara are ripped from the edge, to serve as spoon and fork. Then the piece is used to fish out a morsel of meat and some of the sauce of the "wot". Iron knives are used at dinner time only at a feast of "brundo", raw beef, when a red morsel is cut off just in front of the teeth.

412 415 463 Preparations of tools and utensils fall into four categories of division of labor: (1) Work done by special-

412 415 463 ists such as the ironsmith and tanner; (2) time-consuming work, e.g. pottery, done by women; (3) Unskilled and semi-skilled work that may require physical strength but is not time-consuming or can be done at irregular intervals, and is the prerogative of Amhara men (e.g. work in horn and wood); (4) utensils that may be made by either men or women (e.g. fiber and basket work).

322 [321] Category (3) includes items of wood and horn perhaps because traditional weapons and tools, if they were not of iron, were used by men, warriors, and the low degree technical development did not require a specialist. Ornamentation [531] consists of simple incisions, of rough geometric nature, in the wood. Wooden combs [303] together with their handles are whittled out of a single piece of wood. Wooden [412] mortars, that may be hip-high, are carved laboriously out of treetrunks by a combination of carving with adze and the use of fire. The pestle is carved, also by men, from a somewhat longer, arm-thick hardwood branch. On [354] occasion one finds a three-legged, bowl-like stool carved by hand with adzed and knives, probably in imitation of the Galla, for the typical Amhara chair of nobles and bishops is a higher hardwood frame with a seat and back-rest of interlaced oxhide. The wooden plow, one-handed, [407] consists of a long, stout stick ("erf"), at the bottom end of which wooden wedges ("deger") hold the plowpoint firmly in place. A lighter yoke called "jengela" is [231] made for young and not fully grown oxen. All tools are collectively known as "eqa" (lit. baggage).

321 415 Horn is largely made into containers, also by men.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

2. The Division of Labor.

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462 Besides the dimensions of time and space, the factor of the use of energy is important in material culture. The Amhara of Ethiopia still uses the force of their own muscles as the primary source of industrial power, and their material culture has thus remained basically unchanged, especially in the aspect of human organization of labor.

There is sharp seasonal division of labor among the Amhara, already described in connection with agriculture, the major occupation. This is largely determined by the climate, the heavy rains and little rains, the long dry season; and the very limited conquest of nature by the people in this area, which does not go beyond occasional irrigation ditches. As a result, the seasonal division of labor follows every minute change in the ewather, differs womewhat from year to year depending on early or late onset of the rains. The human organization aspect of agriculture and feasts remains ruled by the weather, which dominates the ecological and religious calendar of activities.

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596 Human organization of labor among the Amhara seems to follow two major principles: (1), Extension of the family organization. The extended family is self-sufficient in most needs for food, shelter, and the spinning of cotton for clothing. Salt and raw cotton are the only basic purchases, and only the services of smith, potter, tanner and weaver are actually essential, though there are a few other cultural elaborations. The extended family is also the major producing unit, in agriculture and animal husbandry. It has traditionally limited its own production

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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[596] because the often arbitrary, confiscatory taxation have lain heaviest on the producer of the most abundant harvest.

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554 (2) The attitude despising labor as an activity for slaves or lower-class ethnic groups, especially if the labor is skilled. Acquisition of special labor skills led to enforced migration, serfdom close to slavery, as has been described. Shame is attached to it, by the Amhara. For him, only agriculture, settled animal husbandry, warfare and spiritual activity in church or healing are acceptable. Even in this group of non-ignoble occupations, there are limitations. A farmer who would try to improve the quality of his land on any but a year-to-year basis, would be very unusual and an object of ridicule. For such land would arouse the evil eye, or the envy of the feudal lord, who would increase his tribute or, in case of family freeholds("rest"), increase his extortion of services. Even though a formal "corvee" has very recently been declared illegal, the local rural statute labor cannot be changed much by the central government, especially since it usually appoints former feudal lords to administrative positions in rural districts.

Principle (1) dominates the division of labor by
[633] sex, and to some extent by age. It also sets the pattern for the need for and existence of market-places that become urban centers, places where specialist not found among the scattered hamlets can be encountered: in entertainment, in trading goods brought by caravan, in higher justice, higher church, better medicine, and recently, in the availability for some of the 8-year elementary school.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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463 The rural extended family is also the residential unit, the
596 hamlet, and this principle affects the rural residence of the ethnic specialists: the Faqi tanners occupy their own hamlets, Falasha smiths theirs, and, within each ethnic hamlet, the specialists are related by kinship, usually patrilocal as well as patrilineal.

463 Principle (2) here creates the basis forthe ethnic
563 division of labor. The concern of the Amhara is not the time and effort saved by each group doing a specialized task, it is to retain prestige by not working at a skilled manual task but having social inferiors do it for them. Time is not much concern in this culture, for labor is paid by the job, not the hour. Labor is cheap, and since the material culture is relatively undeveloped technically, the work does not require the close synchronization of modern, western factories. Thus, as long as the primary source of power consists of muscular force and simple technology, the old ethnic division of labor remains satisfactory to the Amhara, and often even to the ethnic specialists whose livelihood is assured.

The Amhara has more confidence that an iron plowpoint or pot made by the Falasha is well-made, or that a toga woven by a Muslim will give long wear, than he exhibits if a poor Amhara has learned the crafts and tries to sell him his products. For, he reasons, has not the ethnic workman learned his craft since childhood, from his father, who in turn has practiced and perfected it for countless generations? The Amhara purchaser suspects that a new

463 non-ethnic (Amhara), supplier may have done a slovenly job
563 to pick up some quick money, even if he knew the craft. Moreover, the Amhara is convinced that the craft of the ethnic workman, especially the Falasha, is connected with black magic ("buda"), and therefore strong, though evil; while another Amhara individual who may have persuaded or hired a Falasha to teach him his craft (which occasionally has happed in very recent years), will never be taught the magical power connected with ironsmithing, not even from his own father-in-law if he intermarries into a Falasha family (which is also beginning to happen, in towns). Therefore, the product will not be "strong": if a pot it will break; if a plowpoint it will dull soon.

463 Thus, the ethnic craftsmen retain their patrons, a
563 relationship reinforced also by the personal factor: for
466 the Amhara customer who has established or inherited the habit of trading with a particular Falasha hamlet, where confidence has developed and even personal idiosyncrasies are known, prefers to continue to deal on this personal (or family) basis. This is particularly true since in rural areas the work done is paid for in produce, or in lieu of rent payable by the Falashas for land farmed by them and belonging to the Amhara landholding family. The limitations of this economic, or at best inter-personal relationship are mutually recognized , for neither group would mix socially or intermarry, in the rural district. The boundary line is one of religion as well as occupation and social status. As in most parts of the Middle East, the blacksmith remains an outsider. This is also true of the tanner, in Amhara society.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

000 the tanner, in Amhara society.

463 563 565 The values that dominate the division of labor in Amhara territory are closely connected with social stratification, which has been described. While hunters would be at the bottom of the scale, they do not actually have much share in the economic organization. The ethnic occupation class is in the second or third class from the top, depending on how much change has taken place in the local status of "conquered populations" since the 19th century Amhara victories. Actual ex-slaves, usually negroid, are below this level, usually sharing the same status as hunters. The Coptic Amhara, who is occupationally limited occupies the top class, subdivided into feudal lords and sharecropping peasants, with landholding families in between.

But this is a division into classes rather than into castes. For, although occupations tend to be hereditary, and most individuals follow the ethnic specialty of their fathers, they are not under a strict obligation to do so. Emperor Theodore was a usurper of commoner origin, whose mother made a living by gathering bark of the Kosso tree, the lowest occupation of an Amhara. The ethnic classes are more strictly divided by religious identification. In the rural districts there is still no intermarriage between religious or racial groups. In town, persons of the same socio-economic level do intermarry, e.g. "woyto" hippopotamus hunters or ex-hunters, and Shanqalla ex-slaves. Both are likely to work as unskilled servants or laborers, in a town such as Gondar. In general, the class system of Amhara territory is somewhat sharper than in most Middle

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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563 East countries, but it is not the elaborate caste system of
[565] India.

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438 Regional division of labor plays only a small role. When it does occur, as in case of the "burnos"-weaving and carpet-making of spots in Semyen, which survived until recently, it is a case of local survival of a craft that has experienced culture loss, fallen into disuse elsewhere. This is also believed to be true with regard to viticulture which seems to have been lost during the 19th century southeast of Lake Tana. It is the story of ancient Aksum all over again, where a 1700-year old stone cistern is to this day the major water supply and a marvel to the present inhabitants, as are the obelisks, stone steps, etc. Where regional specialization does play some role, it is in a very limited sense. Certain districts of Begemdir province, for example, are more inhabited by Falashas than others, and the iron plowpoints and pottery may be preferred from there, especially in the dry season when travel is possible. The better togas are made by Muslim Ethiopians in suburban Gondar town. Hamlets of tanners are also encountered more often in the vicinity of a town like Gondar. Since so many basic crafts are handed down only in the family system, modern changes de-emphasizing the family economy, plus importation via Italian-built roads, will increasingly cause culture loss, especially in the rural districts. Already the contemptuous reference to "balagar sera" (rustic workmanship) are beginning to heard among urban Amhara (e.g. in connection with the plow and pottery).

463 561 Division of labor by age is not elaborate in Amhara culture, and will be mentioned in connection with the life cycle. Children perform useful work from the age of seven on. Boys watch cattle, and the harvest against birds and baboons. Girls help in the house and take care of younger siblings. Both do the milking. Adults exercise authority and supervise the community. Elders (anyone 50 or over) are respected and do no hard work. They may supervise harvesters from high points, warn of fire or locusts because of life-long experience, reprimand shepherds. Widows very often become nuns, more often than widowers become monks. For old nuns can still do cooking and baking in monasteries, while old men would not be economically useful there, and usually are too old and illiterate to join the clergy even as acolytes. However, priests who have become widowers very often become monks and continue their former activities.

885 Girls are considered adults, for work and marriage, at 12-12; Boys usually 4-5 years later. Sons of priests and feudal families usually begin to attend church school at seven. Even today, in places where modern-type elementary schooling has become available, this pattern continues, and the sons of peasants, if they live near a town and have a chance to be entered at all, at least for the first 3 grades, are usually 11 years old in the first grade, and have already served their parents for 5 years in pastoral and harvest occupations.

Among the ethnic specialists, the harder physical labor is done by male adults in their prime, and lighter tasks allocated to children, elders and women. Thus (e.g., within one Falasha hamlet) one will usually see the adult

463 561 males in their prime occupied, in teams of fice, at smithing a plowpoint; while the elder weaves a toga at his handloom, as fast or as slowly as his physical condition or pride permit. [462] Pottery is made by the Falasha womenfolk, and men do not participate other than to load finished pottery on donkeys for transportation to the customer.

A. Division of Labor by Sex.

462 Whenever uses of energy are not developed technologically, there is usually a sharp division of labor by sex, in which the routine everyday labor is largely left to women. This is true in Amhara society. Women are tied to household tasks and babies, and therefore tasks that are bound to a fixed time are usually left to women. By extension, since water-carrying is the woman's task, pottery-making is done by women of the ethnic specialist class, usually Falasha. On the other hand, tasks involving tools rather than utensils, and tasks not bound to a fixed daily routine, are usually male occupations in Amhara society.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

462 563 B. THE ETHNIC DIVISION OF LABOR.

[461] Division of labor according to the ethnic origin of of the worker is the most distinctly organized division among the Amhara. This is based on the attitude of the Amhara that labor (especially skilled labor and manual labor) is dishonorable. This attitude is reinforced by the close kinship ties which prevent a cultural deviant from shaming the members of his family by working in the district where they are known. It also reinforces the the ethnic boundary lines, and forces the non-Amhara, non-Coptic, working ethnic groups to live within the circle of their own kinfik, religious groups, and hamlets.

[281 191] One of the most despised is the class of the Faqi, the tanners, who speak old-Cushitic languages such as Agau, are considered "pagans" in religion, and are associated by their trade with the hunters, the lowest class.

326 191 On a slightly higher level are the ironsmiths, usually of Falasha, who practice Mosaic Judaism, used to speak Quarinya, an old-Cushitic language, but use the same Semitic Geez language as the Copts in their religious worship and biblical liturgy.

563 463 754 326 [191] This use of Geez by the Falasha is puzzling to the Coptic priests, and brings about a sort of grudging respect for the Falasha, which somewhat elevates their status above that of the tanners. But they are suspected of practicing black magic in connection with their smithing of iron. Patrons take magic precautions to counteract all sorts of magic bewitchment by the Falashas whenever they have contact with them.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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463 They are especially afraid of the "buda", evil eye concept,
754 of which Falashas are believed especially capable; also of
326 their supposed ability to turn themselves into real and magic hyenas at night.

This magic power, however, is believed to make their
323 tools "strong", and the pottery of the Falasha womenfolk "hard to break", so that their wares are preferred by the Amhara, creating a monopoly for Falasha iron tools and pottery wherever Falasha hamlets are within a day walking distance. In some areas there are itinerant Falasha smiths, whose womenfolk make pottery at the same time. They will live in a special guest hut at the edge of an Amhara hamlet.

463 Weaving is also done by Falashas, but they have no
563 monopoly on it, as Muslim Ethiopian weavers are believed
286 by the Amhara to turn out togas that are just as good. For many centuries Muslims were permitted to reside only in segregated sections of towns, such as "AddisAlam" of
361 Gondar town. Though this prohibition has been lifted, most Ethiopian Muslims still reside in special quarters of towns, rarely in a rural hamlet on the Amhara plateau. They were not permitted to own land and no one would rent them any.

They see much more of the country trade routes, since it is they who do much of caravan trading, acting as guides, quartermasters and retail traders for Arab coreligionists who are the wholesalers, usually on routes leading to the Sudan, to Eritrea and to Somaliland. The Coptic Amhara consider the Ethiopian Muslims almost as foreign as the Arabs, even the descendants of Amhara who were forcefully

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286 converted to Islam by the invading Mahdi in the late 19th century, some of whom never reconverted to Christianity after the end of the invasion. This latter group speaks Amharic, but the Coptic Amhara refuse to call them Amhara. In turn, the Muslims call the Copts "Kaffir", infidels, which is considered an insult. Though socially segregated, Muslim weavers are often called to make shammas in the back yard of a Coptic Amhara house, returning to their own homes at dusk.

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464 In the province of Shoa, and the southern, non-Amhara provinces, the Amhara conquered much land in the late 19th century, acquiring millions of Galla and other "gabbar", sharecropping peasants with a status somewhat resembling that of medieval European serfs. They still constitute an important category of labor, though they can leave the land if they are willing to abandon everything (which they rarely do). During the reign of the present emperor their lot has improved, and it is the Galla who are at present experiencing the most remarkable mobility in occupation of any group in Ethiopia. The numbers affected by the change are small, but the principle of this mobility cannot be exaggerated. Even Menelik II, conqueror of the Galla, had noticed how easily he could win them over to serve under his military banner, partly because of their in-tribal dissention, partly due to their fierce loyalty to any chief to whom they have sworn allegiance. Today a number are in positions of the central government, and many Galla officials and clerks are sent out to the old Amhara provinces, even to Gondar, to govern and administer their erstwhile conquerors

463 563 their erstwhile conquerors.

The majority of the Galla are still primitive, dress in skins, use iron spears since they have few rifles, and are "pagan" or slightly islamized, in provinces south of the Amhara provinces. Their participation in the economy is largely agricultural and pastoral, both honorable occupations in the Amhara view. Their low (though rising) social status is due to their conquest, the African living patterns in their home provinces, the difference in religion and in language, but not to their occupation.

The following crafts fall under the ethnic division of labor:

563 323 [462] A. Pottery-making

This occupation can also be classed under Division of Labor by Sex, since only women, mostly Falasha women, engage in it. In the provinces where no Falasha women are available, pottery is made by Gurage or by Galla women. The only time a Coptic Amhara woman prepares a rough utensil she fashions an unsymmetrical container out of mud coarsely mixed with straw or cowdung and left to dry in the sun without firing. Compared with that, the pottery made by women of the other ethnic groups, is indeed "professional".

323 But in fact even the best pottery made by the craftswomen must be considered primitive. It belongs to the category referred to by archeologists in other areas as "women home industry". The firing is of the "first level", i.e. below 600° Centigrade. No potter's wheel is used. Glazing and waterproofing are minimal and primitive; only

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286 554 weaver's occupation. If the weaver were to become a Copt and live among Copts, he would be on a social level equal to a poor, laboring Amhara.

C. Semi-specialized and unskilled.

463 563 The present division of labor is still based on the former feudal structure of the Amhara economy and human organization. Specialized skills are left to other ethnic groups, and, apart from non-ignoble occupations such as war, church, agriculture, healing, the Amhara reserve to themselves semi-specialized occupations and part-time labor traditionally carried out by household retainers.

The latter type of labor, dealt with in this section, can be roughly divided into three categories: (1) labor arising out of the feudal lord-peasant relationship; (2) semi-specialization "that anyone can learn", in the attitude of the Coptic Amhara; (3) temporary labor [465], for which specified wages based on Time and Energy are agreed upon, called "damoz" (a contraction of "dämä-wäs", lit. "blood-and sweat" compensation). This term is even used for temporary marriage, during which the woman acts as cook and travelling companion.

46 [566] The first category arises out of the obligations owed by the sharecropping "gabbar" to his feudal lord or landowning church: the former statute labor, when everyone would come with his own tools and construct a

464 an entire harvest, but the slave would suddenly find
567 himself without a protector, without food and shelter, separated from his own (Shanqalla) people since birth and not knowing their language or their customs.

When liberation was decreed by Emperor Haile Selassie in 1941/2, many ex-slaves remained with their old masters or attached themselves as retainers to a new one, to have a basic livelihood and protection in court against hurt or insult from strangers. The fact that slave trading had been forbidden by Haile Selassie since 1924, and been gradually enforced since then, had increased the personal attachment of slaves not only to the master but to his entire extended family from which they could no longer be sold. After 1942, those ex-slaves who did leave their former masters often settled in makeshift shacks in towns, usually in the section formerly assigned to Muslims, and they now constitute an important potential labor supply in the towns.

463 The second category[1/2] includes semi-specializations
464 of some poorer Coptic Amhara who, in addition to some farming, do such work as making charcoal ("käsäl" or "dengay Käsäl"), as soon as themajor harvest is over. They then move in small teams, usually kinfolk, into the drying river valleys where suitable wood is more plentiful, and later sell their product in towns, to restaurateurs, on the big and little markets, or to smiths and potters. Since this trade is "one that anyone can learn", non-occult, there is nothing slavish about it to the mind of the Amhara, and the loss of

[1/2 of part time labor (see p.215, cat.114).-Analyst]

463 prestige involved is slight--occurring only if there is
464 kinfolk nearby shamed by such manual labor. It is on a social level with the gathering of kosso-bark by a poor Amhara woman.

463 [324] Some farmers have a part-time specialty of fashioning the stone used as mano by the housewife when she grinds grain. They are called "wäqari". No shame is involved; it is considered like a hobby, like whittling away at wood.

[693 554] Some heads of farming families are adept at "talking well in court" for which they achieve great prestige--the major method of achieving prestige. They are called "täbäqa" lawyers, and not full-time specialists since all they can expect, if they win the case, is a bellyful of barley beer or an occasional gift, but they are guests of honor at the victory feasts and "men of reknown".

A large number of semi-specialists fall into the [231] category of caretakers, "täbaqi". Cowherds and shepherds, if they are grown men not useful at anything else, are included in this category.

463 265 Part-time employment is found by the former feudal chamberlain, "agafari", at big weddings of landholding peasants or in towns. They act as caterers, order the bread, meat, beer, mead, etc. They are experts at headwaiting, and know just whom to seat at what table or around which "mäsob", according to rank, and they indicate to each servant to whom to serve beer and to whom the more expensive and more noble mead. This was

463 once a noble profession, requiring much intelligence
265 and training, but now a handsome cash gift, partly for the wedded couple and partly as a tip, can introduce a non-prestigeful guest to the table of the nobles. The profession has thus dropped to the level of the itinerant musician, the "azmari", and brings neither prestige nor any particular shame.

463 A still honorable semi-specialization is that of
532 the painter of religious or religious-royal themes in the church, the "seel-sali". He is often a layman loosely attached to the church, who learned his craft while attending church school and then apprenticed himself to a master painter. He is often hired by an individial landlord or well-to-do, often aging, pious Amhara man or noble lady, who wish to make this gift to the church and often order the painter to paint in a small, modest likeness of themselves or their recently departed parents. (See section of art).

464 The third category of "damoz"[1] labor is traditionally found in the rural areas primarily in the case of the temporary marriage. The availability of ex-slaves rarely makes it necessary to hire on any but temporary agricultural labor, for it would be too expensive and difficult to hire Amhara labor. There is, however, a type of day laborer, "mwayatänya", or simply "seratänya" (worker), who is now paid about 2th$1.- a day, and can be hired for some temporary job without the other involvements sich as leave for church holidays and kin-visiting. A poor Amhara will sometimes hire on for some ready cash,

[1] [i.e. "temporary" — see p.215, cat.116. -Analyst]

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

357 466 his task is fixed in advance and if an Amhara he will usually refuse to carry out any work for which he was not engaged. Women servants usually receive half the salary of a male servant. Thus only officials and relatively high-income urbanites can afford Amhara servants; servants of socially lower groups can be hired for considerably less, if themaster is willing to forego the prestige of having Amhara servants.

The urban householder, who is not surrounded by kinfolk in his residence, usually must hire a night watchman, "zebanya", who sleeps huddled in coarse shammas in front of the house or behind the outer gate. They receive the wage of day laborers. Often they are old veterans of former feudal soldiery, too decrepit for any other work, yet still fierce-looking and fierce-tongued enough to discourage thieves.

265 466 Urban teahouses, coffeehouses and mead-houses employ waiters, "asalafi", who do not have the specialization of the more prestigeful "agafari", but who have steadier jobs. Their pay is not above that of the day laborer, but they can accumulate cash more readily.

[463] 875 871 During the present generation a new element of modern-educated clerks, teachers, hospital "dressers" and government officials is gradually entering the occupational pattern of the town, though still in very small percentages. A graduate of the traditional church school of the rural areas is considered to have only the equivalent of 2 grades of elementary school. All towns now have at least one modern elementary school with 8

Since the town attracted the most clever "däbtära", many of whom were herbologists, it was also a center where "medical aid", sometimes quite effective, could be obtained, and attracted patients from far and wide.

Ethnic craftsmen would settle in hamlets within walking distance of the town, to provide iron tools, tanned leather, sun umbrellas, etc., without, however, exposing themselves to mockery, insults and occasional assaults by living in the town itself.

The town developed as a social center, and center for entertainment, almost inevitably. First, religious feasts such as the Epiphany parades and the tournaments on the public commons on "ganna" (Christmas) attracted the populace; and youngsters as well as adult loafers found themarket scenes fascinating. Secndly, the Arab traders liked to discuss business and news over tea or coffee. So "teahouses " (shay bet") sprang up near the Saturday market, serving snacks also to many a male at odds with his wife, and excluding all womenfolk. Conversely, the mead house, ("tej bet") provided evening entertainment with female singers and dancers (azmari) for the all-male clientele, and waitresses easily available for sexual entertainment. Moreover, every town had at least one "street of unattached women", who catered to travellers or visiting peasants as innkeepers, restaurateurs, and as temporary wives; they were usually divorcees, who hoped to find another husband, and to settle down again to regular married life.

Except for some of the feudal arrangements, most of this town pattern of social organization is still

565 ("ẽhãwa") of Amhara ancestry ("aṯṯeṇṯam"); and the "gabbar" sharecropper on feudal land, who is regarded as of doubtful ancestry (part-slave, or part-Galla ethnic), who is referred to as "rustic" ("balagär). While the former, usually descended from warriors who were given land many generations ago, considers himself inferior only to nobility and higher church officials, the latter occupies the broad bottom base of the Amhara social pyramid. The proverb says of the rustic "gabbar":

[539] "He who honors a gabbar
will be despised by him ".

In fact there are not many who might honor a gabbar, except for some ethnic laborers and ex-slaves, both of whom occupy somewhat of an outcast position.

c) The Ethnic Classes

573 463 565 The ethnic skilled-labor class does not usually consider itself inferior to the gabbar class. This is especially true if the particular ethnic group has a non-material culture or subculture of its own, notably the Falashas who observe Mosaic Judaism.

The factor of fear of a skilled occupation, the practitioners of which are called "ṯabib" (lit. "knowing one ", i.e to whom secrets are revealed), enters into the class stratification. It attaches an aura of untouchability to certain occupational classes, especially if reinforced by ethnic or religious difference. 563 326 754 This combination of factors applies to the smithcraft, the "kayla", who are suspected of witchcraft, of being

533 rest not on any supposed supernatural powers of their
281 craft, but on theoccupation which requires them to deal with carcasses regularly, and places them in a class with the "doyto" hippopotamus hunters of Lake Tana. However, the tanned skins produced by these "Faqi" tanners, prepared through a primitve version of making "morocco" leather, ismuch appreciated as "best workmanship" by the rural as well as town Amhara.

Like the Falasha, the "Faqi" live in hamlets of their own, usually within half a day's waling distance of a big market. They are regarded by Amhara as pagans; they gather under large trees in remote areas for their nature worship on several occasions each year. In very recent years, the urgings from the emperor and the example of Protestant missionaries have stimulated the Coptic clergy to admit them to Christianity, but, as [97] in the case of converted Falasha, the social stigma remains attached to the convert, even if he changes his occupation. Socially he is then worse off than before, for as an outcast from his own group he feels the barbs of social discrimination more than ever. In the past, the "Faqi", like the "Falasha" did not concern themselves much about this stigma, but now the "Faqi" insist on the polite address "arabeñña" --which refers to the tanner workmanship (lit. the one who creates Arab-like, i.e. imported luxury, articles.).

• [96] Occupations that can be readily learned by anyone, or that require talent rather than skill, do not connote
533 low class. A musician, "azmari", male or female, who may not play an instrument for accompaniment, is

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

*175 361 sea level. It is surrounded by three rings of high mountains, which afforded military protection in times past and today provide handsome scenery. Only toward the south is a direct land route alluring, as the ridge descends toward the fertile plains of Dambiyā and the waters of Ṭānā, largest lake in Ethiopia.

[32] Because of its intermediate altitude, Gondar escapes the chill of higher regions and the intense sun of the lowlands: its climate is among the most [312] pleasant in Ethiopia. Water is supplied by two streams—the Angarab and the Qīha—which enclose the town, then flow together down to Lake Ṭānā [32] [241] twenty-one miles away. Adequate rains throughout the year assure two, some-

*175 643 TABLE 1

THE HOUSES OF GONDAR AND MANZ

Gondarine Emperors Who Ruled with Full Power		The Line of Independent Shoan Rulers		
Name	Dates of Reign	Name	Highest Rank Attained	Dates of Reign
Fāsil (Fāsilidas)	1632–67	Nagāssi (Nagāsē Kristos)	Abēto	169?–1703
Yohānnes I (the Pious)	1667–82	Sebstē (Sebstyānos)	Marīdāzmātch	1705–20
Iyāsu I (the Great)	1682–1706	Abbiyē	Marīdāzmātch	1720–45
Takla Hāymānot I	1706–8	Amhāyas (Amhā Iyasus)	Marīdāzmātch	1745–75
Tēwofilos	1708–11	Asfā Wassan	Marīdāzmātch	1775–1808
Yoṣṭos	1711–16	Wassan Sagad	Rās	1808–13
Dāwit III (the Singer)	1716–21	Sāhla Selassie	Negus	1813–47
Bakāffā (the Inexorable)	1721–30	Haile Malakot	Negus	1847–55
Iyāsu II (the Little)	1730–55	Menelik II		
		As ruler of Shoa	Negus	1865–89
		As emperor of Ethiopia	Negusa Nagast	1889–1913

*175 361 [132] [241] times three, crops in the hinterland. Ṭēff and other grains, oilseed, honey, and livestock are produced in abundance.

[231] The population of Gondar approached seventy thousand during the city's *175 633 time of power.[8] Thereafter it declined to but a few thousands. The townspeople of Gondar have been chiefly traders, priests, scribes, soldiers, artisans, [162] and drink-house proprietresses. Like the inhabitants of Aksum, they are more [463] conscious of Ethiopian history than people elsewhere in the country, as well they might be.

Gondar was founded by Emperor Fāsil about 1635. Legend says that he [193] was inspired to plant his capital there because of a prophecy that Ethiopia would attain its greatest power if its capital were established in a place whose [36] name began with the syllable *Go*. More practical considerations were surely

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

over a century ago that the people of Manz had the reputation of being "brave, daring, and ignorant."[46] The caricatures of the typical Manzē usually have to do with his *qilnat* ("stupidity"), such as the old story about the Manzēs at the bottom of a hill who were warned about some rolling boulders and replied: "That's all right, we'll just put our heads under the blanket and then we won't see the stones." As one Manzē himself put it: "We look to Gondar as our older brother. We know we are ignorant and illiterate."

Although in each other's eyes the Gondarē may be arraigned as haughty and cowardly and the Manzē berated as ignorant and hostile, a comparative view enables one to see the differences between Manz and Gondar as complementary, representing a specialization of interest and function within a common culture. An Amhara priest expressed this idea to me by saying: "The people of Gondar and Manz are really the same. Only Gondar is the head, and Manz the foot." (In Amharic thought the leg symbolizes force.) The pursuit of different interests and the perfection of different functions led to the cultivation of different virtues and, by the same token, the indulgence of different faults. The result was what might be called a moral division of labor along a geographical axis.

The primary axis of this division of labor in Amhara culture was vocational. The separate virtues of soldier and cleric were cultivated through distinct roles, pursued part or full time by two different sets of individuals. This permitted both sets of values to be realized without arousing the cultural and psychic conflicts that would inhere in their joint cultivation by the same persons.

It was by historical accident that Manz and Gondar came to provide an additional axis for this division of labor. At Gondar, through the political circumstances described above, the military function withered away, while the religio-literary culture was enabled to flourish. In Manz, the latter was destroyed and never recovered, while the energies of her people were consumed in fighting.

The historical advantage of this was that the Amhara thereby found the occasion for a massive revitalization of their religious culture through the facilities at Gondar, yet were able to accumulate a military momentum, through the years of incubation in Manz, that favored a political comeback which put them in a position to assert their might over an area larger than ever before in Ethiopian history. The moral consequence was that the Gondarē and the Manzē developed in pronounced form the virtues of the literatus and the soldier, respectively. The total culture was perhaps thereby enriched. Alaqā Gabra Hānnā, cultivated literatus, was in a sense the epitome of the Gondarē ethos, just as Menelik II, determined fighter as well as shrewd politician and tactful diplomat, was morally as well as genealogically akin to the men of Manz. The imperial court at the end of the nineteenth century,

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

*883 857 868 Somewhat later, when he reaches ten or eleven, the Amhara boy begins to accustom himself to the plow, perhaps trying his hand at it from time to time while his father rests for lunch. Intermittently his ability increases, and by the age of fourteen or so—earlier if the family is short of help—he is given a regular share of the plowing. This may be limited to one or two hours a day at first, but before many seasons elapse he is ready to undertake a full day's work, along with his older relatives.

*883 868 [434] In his mid-teens the Amhara boy is normally given a small part of his father's land to use for himself. The boy has full charge of plowing and harvesting this land and selling the crops at market. The crops or money he earns thereby is referred to as *gulammā* ("private possession") and is set aside for helping him to get started on his own later on. Eventually the *gulammā* will be used to purchase new clothes, an ox, and presents for his bride. Year by year the father may add a bit more land for the boy's private management, though all together it does not often amount to a very large quantity; he may produce, say, 150 to 200 liters of grain for his *gulammā* in a year (in the Amhara system of measures, about 2 *ʾāwlā*). When he has saved enough [582] grain to fill a *riq*, a large wicker storage bin plastered inside with cow dung, he is considered ready to get married and strike out on his own.

By the time a boy begins to accumulate his *gulammā* he has learned nearly everything he needs to know for performing the work which will be expected of him as an adult. In his late teens the education is completed, through the mastery of such special techniques as fashioning the yoke and wooden attachments for the plow, and constructing the walls and roof for a house.

The work life of the Amhara peasant is thus a simple continuation of activities with which he has long been familiar. The same is true, *mutatis* [463] *mutandis*, for those who, following their fathers' footsteps, become priests or sorcerers, governors or warriors, artisans or traders. In these cases, moreover, the foregoing pattern applies to a great extent, since the latter roles are often combined with an agricultural economic base and way of life. (Special aspects of some of these variant patterns will be discussed below.)

857 868 [415] This pattern of gradually increased work responsibility is conspicuous in the case of girls. While shepherding and other childhood tasks are shared by both sexes, the Amhara girl begins to do distinctively female work at about six or seven. First she learns to clear seeds from cotton, and to spin, by hand. Later on she is introduced to the more taxing female chores, like fetching water and grinding grain. The progressive increase of the girl's work load is visibly illustrated by the graduated sizes of clay jugs used for carrying water. When she begins to fetch water, the young girl carries a tiny jug, called a *gambo*. As she becomes older and stronger she is given a larger size, a small *enserā*. Finally, the mature female carries the large *enserā*, a jug that holds as much as twenty liters.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

838 hold hands when talking, embrace each other when walking, and sleep in
571 each other's arms, there seems to be neither practice nor knowledge of unsublimated homosexuality among the traditional Amhara. Boys often address one another in the feminine intimate form, and girls sometimes use the masculine form among themselves or call each other "brother," without having
83 their own sexual identities in the least confused thereby. Amhara males, in
[834] particular, have a proud cult of virility, though it is not compulsive in the sense that they must boast of sexual conquests; to talk of sexual exploits in front of others in such a manner would be a great shame, and such matters
[571] are simply taken in one's stride. (The other side of masculinity, physical courage, is the subject of a great deal of boasting. The term for masculinity, *wandnat*, is synonymous with *guabaznat*, or "bravery.")

* 883 The advent of puberty therefore makes the young Amhara simply more
882 self-conscious about the characteristics proper to his or her sex. Girls begin to groom themselves and think of finer clothes. Boys proudly take on a "man's share" of the work; and, what is more, become somewhat unruly, tempestuous, quick to pick fights, and vaunt their new powers. The *goramsā* often
[141] carries a special kind of *dulā* that is symbolic of his youthful masculinity. Unusually short, stout, and hard, it is convenient for concealing beneath his clothes when he goes out at night on sexual adventures, and dangerous enough to convince himself that he is quite brave. As soon as conditions permit, adolescents of both sexes enter their first marriage with alacrity.

155 With respect to psychosocial identity, the situation is slightly more com-
156 plex, in that Abyssinian society does provide a variety of social roles for its males. For the most part, boys faithfully follow the examples of their fathers. This is true in the case of noblemen, priests, traders, and artisans, as well as for the great peasant majority concerning whom the following remarks are presented.

565 The pattern of peasant life is broad enough to fit the dispositions of most
554 of those who are called on to continue it. The typical Amhara adolescent boy
156 therefore seeks no more in life than to be given a pretty wife whose father has a lot of land, to work so well that his father will be generous in giving him land and cattle when he marries, to produce abundant grain so he can eat plenty, and to become renowned in the land as an outstanding litigant.

Under certain conditions, however, this pattern may not fit. The reason may be chiefly economic: too many siblings and too little land in the family may force him to seek some other livelihood. Or it may have to do primarily with resentment with his lot under an especially rigid and unkind father. Still another motive may lie in the boy's yearning for a more suitable identity.

156 Whatever the reasons for his marginality may have been, the adolescent
554 boy in traditional Abyssinia could respond to such a situation by pursuing
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11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

a different identity. Religion and warfare were the two spheres most likely to attract him. Although trade and manual arts were possibilities for those whose industry exceeded their status-consciousness, they were considered the business of other ethnic groups and normally rejected by a self-respecting Amhara. When the Amhara youth left home for a new life, he was usually heading either for the school of some church teacher or the quarters of some chieftain.

Today, as in former times, the role of priest is known from childhood as a possible model for the peasant boy. He and his companions often imitate the clergy and their ceremonies in their play. The wish to become a priest is kindled by a number of interests—desire for the material benefits accorded the clergy; curiosity about the mysteries of the church; envy of the great prestige of the clergy; hope for a better chance of going to heaven after death. During adolescence the outlook of the boy who seeks to become a priest deviates from that of the *goramsā* described above. Instead of the shrill, blood-heating *shillala* war chants he prefers the gentle hymns of the church; instead of the frenzied dancing and singing of the young braves he prefers the schooled dance of the clergy; instead of pursuing women, he is inclined to turn his head the other way when a girl appears.

The military alternative does not seem to be an ideal of Amhara children. They rarely see soldiers; and when they did in former times, it was usually in the unhappy circumstance of seeing the family's reserves plundered. It is not until the time of puberty and after that the great upsurge of aggressive instinct has turned the thoughts of many an Amhara youth to fighting. Chafing under parental domination or bristling with resentment because of being an illegitimate offspring or a stepchild, he may be anxious to turn his hostility against some enemy. He may imagine the free life of a soldier more attractive than the drudgery of the peasant's lot. In the days of feudal armies, he may have heard news about some warlord on the rise and thus have hopes, by attaching himself as a follower, of winning booty and the laurels of a hero, perhaps eventually the powers of a chieftain.

Whether the peasant boy chooses church school or the warpath, his move has frequently been an all-or-none move. The peasant boy can do nothing without the consent of his father, and normally his father will not permit him to do anything except carry on the farmwork and prepare himself to care for his parents in their old age and to inherit the family land. If there should be some sign that the son does not want to continue in his father's footsteps, the latter will do everything he can short of disinheritance—and ofttimes that—to persuade him otherwise.

And so, some restless day, eyes fixed on some alluring goal, the Amhara youth might run away and not be seen again. If he should return, it would

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

be many years later, as a learned priest or *dabtarā* or as a successful warrior or official, and some sort of reconciliation might be effected with his family. In either case, from a sociological viewpoint, the rebellious youth is merely preparing himself to take over one of the more specialized functions on which the wider social order depends. His break with his parents does not signify a revolt against society, but, if anything, a closer attachment to society through more intimate alliance with its highest values, religion and warfare.

Thus there has always been some room for the attainment of a new social identity in Abyssinia. Although the rigidity of paternal authority often meant that it must be attained through rebellion, the adolescent could eat his cake of defiance and still have his cake of loyalty; and the social system was well served thereby.

ADOLESCENCE IN CHANGING ETHIOPIA

The foregoing description of adolescence still obtains for the vast majority of Amhara youth today. Side by side with this traditional pattern of "growing up on the farm," however, a quite different pattern of childhood and adolescence has been developing in Addis Ababa and in some of the provincial capitals. This new pattern follows the course of experience provided by participation in the government school system. It has radically interrupted the traditional rhythm of growing up and has posed more integrative problems than it has yet been able to solve.

The Welfare School

Public education in Ethiopia prior to the Italian invasion represented a small but significant trickle of activity alongside the mainstream of traditional institutions. Perhaps some six to seven hundred boys and girls received the beginnings of a modern education in the government schools of Addis Ababa by 1935.[9] Many others received some elementary education in government provincial schools and in schools operated by foreign religious missions, though the latter never played as significant a role in Ethiopia as they did in colonial Africa.

During the occupation, Ethiopians were prevented from acquiring anything higher than elementary education, but the Italians did construct a number of school buildings for their own nationals which facilitated the growth of the Ethiopian school system after 1941. By 1944 there were some 25,000 pupils enrolled in government schools, a figure which rose to 60,000 by 1950 and reached 234,000 in 1963.[10]

The base of the Ethiopian educational program has been an eight-year elementary curriculum, the first four years being taught in Amharic and the

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

that parents still wield considerable moral influence over the modern adolescents, more so even than their peers, is shown by the figures in Table 3. This persistence of parental influence keeps the Ethiopian adolescent anchored in his traditional culture and accounts in part for a noticeable conservatism among Ethiopian students generally. With respect to such matters as morality, etiquette, family solidarity, and religion, students are strongly inclined to follow their parents' precepts.

While this deep-grained attachment to their parents gives the modern adolescents a sense of stability and security, it is also responsible for consider-

TABLE 3

RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF PARENTS AND FRIENDS ON STUDENTS

Extent to Which Students Say They Follow Advice	Secondary School		College Males (per cent)
	Males (per cent)	Females (per cent)	
Of parents:			
Always	46	35	17
Usually	43	60	65
Not often	11	5	18
Of friends:			
Always	19	8	8
Usually	47	61	53
Not often	34	31	39
Number	(396)	(40)	(197)

able strain in their lives. For there are few families—less than three per cent of our sample—in which the students do not remark some significant area of disagreement between their parents and themselves. The modest steps toward modernity that Ethiopia has taken have already kindled a smoldering conflict between generations, perhaps for the first time in Ethiopian history. It is against that background of conflict that we now examine the condition in changing Ethiopia of the three main sociological functions of adolescence: preparation for adult work roles, preparation for marriage roles, and integration into the adult intellectual and moral order.

Preparation for Work

The most conspicuous function of the secondary schools and colleges in Ethiopia is to train young people for careers unknown in their traditional

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

society: to create engineers and mechanics, doctors and nurses, economists and educators. With regard to the familiar occupations of the old order, the schools' task is to engender a new breed of practitioner—farmers versed in modern methods of agriculture, soldiers disciplined and geared to modern techniques, clergy cognizant of ecumenical Christianity, clerks who can type and take shorthand, and government officials with some modern education.

What is most revolutionary is that the schools introduce not only new subject matters for careers, but the very notion of vocation itself—of life work as

TABLE 4

SOURCES OF FUTURE SATISFACTION CONSIDERED MOST IMPORTANT BY STUDENTS*

Source from Which Students Expect Most Satisfaction in Life	Secondary School				College Males (per cent)	
	Males (per cent)		Females (per cent)			
	1st choice	2d choice	1st choice	2d choice	1st choice	2d choice
Career or occupation	34	12	30	9	44	17
Improvement of local community	30	27	16	36	22	28
Religious beliefs and activities	13	20	16	21	5	7
Participation in national and international affairs	10	24	13	20	8	26
Family relationships	8	10	20	9	17	14
Leisure-time, recreational activities	5	7	5	5	3	8
Number	(304)		(40)		(195)	

* Based on question 27 in the Gillespie-Allport questionnaire.

something which one *chooses*, trains for in a specific manner, and derives satisfaction from pursuing.* This orientation departs radically from the traditional expectation of inheriting the work of one's father as a matter of course. Whereas, as we have noted, the Amhara son traditionally carried on his father's work, except in rare cases where there were special reasons for not doing so, only *seven per cent* of the boys in my sample indicated that

* When asked what they expected to give most satisfaction in their lives, the students most frequently named "career or occupation" (out of six alternatives). When asked what they considered most desirable in choosing an occupation, they named "work that is really interesting" most frequently (out of six alternatives). See Tables 4 and 5.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

they expected to enter the same occupation as their fathers. This figure is much smaller than that obtained from a cross-cultural study of youth by James Gillespie and Gordon Allport, who found that "approximately a third of the male students in all our samples [a total of 1,168, drawn from the United States, New Zealand, South Africa, Egypt, Mexico, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, and Israel] expect to enter the same occupations as their fathers, or ones closely related."[18] In part, the Ethiopian figure simply reflects the preparation for types of work which did not exist for previous generations.

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONAL CONDITIONS MOST DESIRED BY STUDENTS

Conditions Which Students Consider Most Desirable in Choosing Future Occupations	Secondary School				College Males (per cent)	
	Males (per cent)		Females (per cent)			
	1st choice	2d choice	1st choice	2d choice	1st choice	2d choice
Interesting work	56	24	63	17	63	18
Job security	19	26	23	11	14	31
Chance to acquire much money	12	11	3	11	10	16
Prestige	7	9	8	17	7	5
Pleasant work companions	4	26	3	30	3	27
Good boss	2	4	0	14	3	3
Number	(325)		(40)		(113)	

But since it also represents numerous cases where the boy's occupational interest is a traditional one—where, in other words, one finds sons of soldiers and government officials planning to become farmers, sons of farmers planning to be teachers, and sons of priests and teachers planning to be soldiers and administrators—this figure may be interpreted as indicative of a very general rejection of parental influence with respect to occupational choice.

Parents of the modern adolescents are unhappy about this diminution of their traditional authority, especially so when their children opt for some of the more "outlandish" modern occupations. Their disapproval sometimes takes the form of urging their children to quit school and get married. Often it is expressed in the form of direct criticism of the occupation in question. Nearly two-fifths of the secondary school males questioned about this indicated that their parents did not approve of the occupation they wished to enter. As

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

might be expected, the incidence of disapproval was highest among the students of the Gondar secondary school (fifty-eight per cent), whose parents are presumably more traditionalist than those of the Addis Ababa boys, and the students of the technical school (fifty-six per cent), whose occupational interests, involving manual labor and technical skills, are felt to resemble those artisan pursuits traditionally disesteemed by the Amhara.

Time is on the side of the students. As Ethiopia develops and education spreads, the advantages of prolonged training and modern occupations will become increasingly apparent to the parents. For some time to come, however, their resentment of the dependence of youth on foreigners and Western-educated Ethiopians for occupational guidance will continue to generate social tensions and impede the socialization process.

The harmonious pattern of preparation for adult work roles found in traditional Amhara society has been further disrupted under the new school system at at least two points: the point at which occupational commitments are made, and the point of entry into the work force.

The modern adolescent is supposed to choose which of several kinds of schools, representing a variety of vocational commitments, he wishes to enter upon successful completion of the eighth-grade exam. Quite often his choice is dictated by wholly irrelevant factors. For example, it may be made on the basis of which of the available schools promises the best standard of living.[19] Or it may be made for him by the school system, for one finds cases where the student's preferences are disregarded and he is placed in whatever school and vocational program happens to be able to accommodate him.

Even when the student's choice is relatively free from such extraneous determinants, however, it is usually difficult for him to make a meaningful decision. Eight grades of a rudimentary curriculum is hardly an adequate basis for choosing from a variety of unfamiliar vocations. So it is "fate" that guides most youngsters into one or another of the secondary school programs. The problem of choice recurs, for a much smaller number, when commitments are again required for entrance into the colleges. At this point meaningful decisions are often made, but perhaps more often they are spun from a skein of bewilderment. One secondary school graduate summed up the situation by saying, "Foreigners frequently ask young educated Ethiopians, 'What do you want to become?' How do we know? This whole business of *choosing* is entirely new to us, and we know very little about the alternatives that we have now. It is all very confusing."

So far the modernizing sector has provided little, beyond vocational pamphlets in the school libraries and an occasional school debate on the respective values of different occupations, to help orient the students on these matters.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

Programs of vocational guidance and counseling have not yet been instituted.* Students who manage to form clear and definite ambitions also suffer for want of help, if for some reason they have been shunted away from the appropriate training program, or have been deprived of opportunities to prepare adequately for the vocations to which they aspire. Two research findings bear on this. In one study it was found that "few secondary school administrators when questioned are aware of the ambitions and desires of their students," and that less than twenty per cent of the group of secondary school students surveyed felt they had received training "suitable to their ambitions."[20] In my own survey it appeared that fewer than twenty per cent of the secondary school students expect to enter the occupation they actually want to.

In addition to this discontinuity between childhood experience and the hitherto unknown necessity of making some sort of vocational choice, modern adolescence also involves a sharp break between the experience of post-elementary school and the process of getting on a payroll. Here the Ethiopian youth faces the problems of students everywhere as they leave school for the "real world." In at least two respects, however, his dilemma is more acute than that of his counterpart in Western societies. Because virtually all jobs are controlled by the government, and because the government is still organized along traditional lines, the Ethiopian graduate must suddenly forget the universalistic criteria of school and acclimate himself to the traditional pattern of ingratiating oneself with those in positions of power—a pattern referred to as *daj ţenät* —if he is to gain and retain a decent job. For many graduates there is no machinery that might assist them in locating a job: no job advertisements, employment bureaus, not even effective personnel departments in most quarters.

The school system itself, however, does manage in certain cases to find jobs for its graduates. For the foreign-educated returnees a special placement board was set up within the Ministry of Education. The locally educated are placed, if at all, by their individual schools, depending on the policy of the school, the resourcefulness of its director, the demands of the market, and current political emphases.

The outlook for graduates of the various specialized vocational programs has been in recent years as follows. A consistently high demand for teachers has assured jobs for graduates of the various teachers training programs. Graduates of the commercial school have been in great demand because of the increasing bureaucratization of government and the slight expansion of commerce. The public health college had great difficulty in the placement of its

* Since this was written the University's Department of Education has begun to produce a series of career pamphlets for secondary school students.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

graduates in the late fifties, but the government's implementation of a program of public health centers has opened up increasing opportunities for their employment. Graduates of the school of social work have been placed in positions with little difficulty.

On the other hand, in those areas in which the government has shown little or no interest the school authorities have been hard put to find employment for their graduates. This was shown most dramatically in the case of the now defunct community development training project at Majete, whose graduates were allowed to drift into oblivion due to the absence of an effective community development program in the country. Those who have completed courses of study in agriculture have not been extensively employed by the government because of chronic disorganization and neglect in the Ministry of Agriculture, while lack of capital and know-how has tended to keep them from private agricultural enterprise. Graduates of the technical and engineering schools have been having some difficulty in entering the work force due to the slow pace of Ethiopia's industrial development. Graduates of general academic programs, finally, and those who drop out before completing some course of study, tend to be left to their own devices.

While the modernizing sector, then, has introduced the revolutionary notion of vocation and has institutionalized means of training young Ethiopians for modern work roles, it has not yet provided adequate mechanisms either for guiding them into and through the training programs or for employing them properly once they are trained.

Preparation for Marriage

Conditions of growing up in the modernizing sector have disrupted the harmonious pattern of Amhara adolescence also with respect to entrance into adult family roles. Conflicts arise both from postponement of the normal age for marriage and from radically new ideas about the nature of marriage.

The modern adolescent typically expects to marry at an age that is at least eight to ten years older than his traditional counterpart. While Amhara girls have traditionally married in their early teens, girls in the senior class of secondary school now say they expect to marry in their early twenties. Amhara boys have traditionally married around the age of twenty, but those in post-elementary schools now expect to marry in their late twenties or early thirties.

This shift is due to a desire to attain as much education as possible, and above all, for the boys, to the precarious economic position of modern adolescents. While living on his father's farm an Amhara boy could marry early with the assurance of having enough land to work to support his family at least at subsistence level. The modern boy who finishes secondary school or

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

cation. Since the mechanism of stratification ranks all the members of a society according to the value placed on their qualities and performances by that society, the stratification system of a society is its most inclusive framework of social order. Here too, however, conflicting value orientations are embodied in more or less distinct status hierarchies, and it is no longer possible to find status evaluations which are shared throughout the society. It is in the composition and relations of the elites that the value conflicts in Ethiopia today are most explicit, and in their mutual adjustments that the movement toward new forms of integration is most likely to be manifest.

The traditional infrastructure of Abyssinian society was itself relatively stratified. Highest in status were the landowning peasants, the older and wealthier of whom merged imperceptibly into the lower stratum of the nobility. Next in order were the peasants of various situations who did not own land: sons waiting to inherit land from their parents, tenants paying rents in kind to some landlord, and agricultural laborers attached as retainers on the estates of wealthy peasants, nobles, or churches. Below them were the statuses of Abyssinians who led a more mobile sort of existence, such as weavers, minstrels, common soldiers, and beggars.

The trading class was broadly divided into two ranks, that of the merchant (*naggādē*) whose caravans brought goods from afar, and that of the small-scale peddler (*shaqātch*). The wealthier Abyssinian merchant was accorded very high status, comparable at times to that of the nobility. If an Arab, Armenian, or Muslim Abyssinian, however, his status would be tainted by that disesteem felt for all outside the ethnic pale. The peddlers as a class were in a low status, comparable to that of the weavers and minstrels. Below these were metalsmiths, potters, and tanners, who were sometimes low caste Abyssinian artisans, sometimes Falasha or Gurage tribesmen. Lowest in status were the slaves, captured in wars or raiding expeditions from the Negroid tribes in the west (Shanqalla) and north (Baria and Kunama), and from the Kaffa and other Cushitic groups in the south. Freed for a generation now, such people still work as household servants and retainers, or as laborers in the towns.

Such were the classes which performed the drudgery. They produced sufficient surplus to sustain a fairly extensive, if not opulent, leisure class, which ministered to the more general political and cultural needs of the society. The feudal nobility and the clergy represented the paramount values of warfare and religion and shared responsibility for the maintenance of legal order. Together with the emperor, to whom they were normally subordinate, they commanded the resources and respect of the Abyssinian people and set standards for their behavior.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

565 178 463 [701] During the reign of Haile Selassie, the infrastructure of Ethiopian society has become more differentiated. A large standing army, an air force, and a small navy have been recruited and trained by foreign military missions. The modernization of transport and communication has produced a sizable class of semiskilled operatives—truck drivers, airline employees, telephone operators, typesetters, etc. The expansion of government has produced a legion of clerks. In the towns tertiary occupational roles, like salesmen and barbers, have come into being, and the establishment of factories has engendered a small industrial labor force.

All such people tend to differ from the traditional lower classes in their relative enthusiasm for *seltänē* ("civilization"). Still more enthusiastic are those who have had more intimate and prolonged exposure to the fruits of *seltänē:* domestic servants in *faranj* homes; students of the secondary schools and colleges; Imperial Bodyguard troops who served in the Korean campaign and recently in the Congo; and highland Eritreans, whose experience under sixty years of Italian colonial administration has rendered them far more modernized than people of other provinces.

178 571 554 565 Similarly, the reign of Haile Selassie has witnessed the emergence of new elite groups. A "new nobility" of government officials and urban plutocrats has taken place beside the old. In addition, a nascent intelligentsia has attained a precarious high status, resting mostly on the esteem of students, some military officers, and resident Westerners. The integrative dilemma of Ethiopia today has more to do with conflicts among and within its various elites than with tribal enmities or masses in revolt.*

643 571 565 Hovering over these four groups, kindred with each but superior to all, has been the personality of the present emperor. Indeed, the history of Ethiopia in the last four decades has for the most part been the story of Haile Selassie's efforts to direct and control the destinies of the old and new elites. The considerable success with which he has done this is a tribute, not only to his own remarkable manipulative skills, but also to the majesty of the office which he possesses. The position of *negusa nagast* has traditionally monopolized the highest reaches of the Abyssinian system of social stratification; constituting, as it were, an elite of One.

THE TRADITIONAL ORDER

643 *The Lofty Throne*

The emperor comprises an elite in the original sense of the word, for to the Ethiopians he is Elect of God (*seyuma egziäbhër*) according to the conventional Ge'ez honorific.

* Although, as was suggested earlier, tribal and religious differences *may* generate new integrative crises in the future.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

past. The intellectuals are the product of a secular school system which is, as we have seen, a structure foreign to Abyssinian tradition. Their members are drawn from all parts of Ethiopian society, and in almost no cases consist of Western-educated members of the old group of literati, the *dabtarā*. The question of their integration into what has remained an essentially traditional social system has thus been Ethiopia's main sociological dilemma during the present decade. We shall return to this question after considering the composition and general situation of the intellectual class.

Whatever his line of work, the Ethiopian intellectual tends to be employed by the government, since employment opportunities in the private sector are still extremely limited; and where such exist, the government has often claimed priority over the intellectual's services by virtue of its having educated him. Many of the intellectuals work as public administrators, in the middle echelons of the government bureaucracy, with the titles of "assistant," "director," and "director general"; and there has been a growing tendency to appoint them in the higher levels, especially since 1961. Hundreds of them now work as teachers in the elementary and secondary schools,* and some six dozen teach at the college level. A small but growing number are employed as physicians, medical workers, engineers, and legal advisers in various government institutions. Still another group works in the small communications field—on the staffs of the various newspapers, the patriotic monthly *Menen*, and Radio Addis Ababa. The small group holding jobs outside the government works as engineers and bureaucrats in industrial firms, as employees of the Ethiopian Air Lines, or have small commercial or agricultural enterprises of their own.

With respect to interaction among the intellectuals, however, the most important distinction among them has been the place where they received their education. Here we may speak of two main groups: those who received part of their education abroad, the "foreign-educated" or "returnees"; and those who received all their education in Ethiopia, the "local-educated" or "locals."†

The Returnees

Close to two hundred Ethiopians studied abroad prior to the Italian occupation. Since French was then the official European language in Ethiopia,

* About forty-five hundred Ethiopians, of varying levels of educational attainment, were teaching in government schools of all types in 1960–61, according to the Ministry of Education school census for that year.

† This term is used as a neutral descriptive category, free from any negative connotations it may have acquired when first coined by the returnees. More recently, the West African term "been-to" has been incorporated into Amharic for referring to the returnee.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

19. Thus, an eighth-grade student in Manz explained the popularity of the Jimma Agricultural School by saying, "The boys all want to go there because it is run by the Americans, and a school run by Americans means that everything is done right—food and clothes are properly distributed, and so on."
20. Shack, *op. cit.*, p. 417.
21. In response to a question on their attitudes toward the priests, sixty juniors and seniors of Tafari Makonnen Secondary School replied as follows (1959): 40 per cent were unequivocally proclerical; 22 per cent were ambivalent, expressing awareness of both good and bad elements in the clergy; and 18 per cent were primarily anticlerical, calling the priests "incompetent," "opposed to modernization," and "not supported by the people." (The rest were no answers or noncommittal.)
22. Edith Lord, "The Impact of Education on Non-scientific Beliefs in Ethiopia," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XLVII, Second-Half (May, 1958), 339–54.
23. Cf. Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory* (rev. ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954), chaps. vii and xiv.
24. Cf. chap. iii, p. 89, and note 19.
25. Lord, "The Impact of Education on Non-Scientific Beliefs," typescript version, pp. 6–7.
26. A sophisticated expression of this approach to Ethiopian painting has been published by an Ethiopian student in France. Cf. Berhanu Abbaba, "La peinture éthiopienne: point de vue d'un Éthiopien," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, II, No. 1 (1961), 160–65.
27. For a brief account of this historic event cf. Lipsky *et al.*, *Ethiopia* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1962), pp. 210–12.
28. Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959).
29. *Diagnosis of Our Time* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), chap. iii.

CHAPTER 5: *The Old and New Elites*

1. C. Conti Rossini, "La regalità sacra in Abissinia," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, XXI (1948), 12–31.
2. A. Vasiliev, "Justin I (518–527) and Abyssinia," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXIII (1933), 67–77; *Justin the First* (Harvard, 1950), pp. 299–302.
3. A. Caquot, "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie," *Annales d'Éthiopie*, II (1957), 205–19.
4. F. Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies*, ed. C. F. Beckingham and G. Huntingford (2 vols.; Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1961), I, 122.
5. "The Chronicle of the Emperor Zara Yaqob," *Ethiopia Observer*, V, No. 2 (1961), 153.
6. J. Varenbergh, *Studien zur äthiopischen Reichsordnung* (Strassburg, 1916), p. 3.
7. James Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (5 vols.; Edinburgh, 1790), III, 237.

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

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779 their combined ranks the political elite of Ethiopia has been historically recruited. Third among the highland peoples are the Agaw. It appears likely that they are the descendants of the original Hamitic population of this region, and only during the last century have most Begemder Agaw been converted from their indigenous religious beliefs to membership in the Coptic Church. Within Begemder, they constitute a majority of the inhabitants of three non-contiguous areas. Fourth among highlanders are the rural Muslims, indigenous people who have been converted to Islam over the last five centuries.

[241] While the rural Amhara, Tigre, and Agaw are exclusively
[463] farmers, these Muslims divide their energies between farm-
[286] ing and working as artisans, mainly weavers of the toga
[443] cloth; Muslim women are prominant among the traders of
[562] the weekly markets held throughout the province. Least numerous of the highland people are the Falasha, Abyssin-
[423] ian Jews following a Mosaic creed. A despised and humil-
[326] iated people, the Falasha farm only rented fields
[286] (timene), and work as smiths as well as weavers; Falasha
[162] women are potters. Although the Falasha are localized in several regions, they nowhere constitute a majority
[361] of an area's residents. Like the Abyssinian Muslims, they reside either in hamlets of their own, apart from Amhara, or in peripheral homesteads of otherwise Christian hamlets. These distributions are summarized in Map2.

162 632 istics are, except for differences in scale, approximated by most of the other provincial towns situated in predominantly Amhara areas.[17]

632 463 The People of the Town. Approximately three-quarters of Gondar's residents are Amhara, born in either Begemder or adjacent Gojam province. Most Amhara townsmen are government employees (clerks, messengers, teachers, and judicial functionaries); a lesser number enjoy some ecclesiastical identity, and others are local rentiers, often supplementing their incomes with government or Church employment. A smaller number work in miscellaneous, unskilled occupations, notably as watchmen (zibaña) at the households of affluent co-religionists.

162 632 463 433 Three quarters of Gondar's adult Amhara are women. A minority of them are the spouses or dependents of local Amhara townsmen, and confine their daily activities to domestic duties. A still smaller number are rentiers, or the recipients of stipends from mature sons living elsewhere. The remaining Amhara townswomen, perhaps 40%

[17] Thus excluding Chilga (urban center for the Kemant Agaw region) and Metemma (a border town of the Sudanese lowlands).

162 632 433 463 of the town's total population, support themselves by working among the densely packed rows of beer houses and mead halls which are found along the approaches to, and in the vicinity of, the arada, the weekly market area. A portion of these women alternate periods of beer selling with work as servants in Amhara households.

632 779 563 [197] [167] [142] Gondar's Muslims include both Abyssinians (pejoratively, "Jabartiy", "half-caste") and Arabs. While the former are mono-lingual Amharic speakers and physically indistinguishable from Amhara, the latter are distinctively dressed, bilingual in Amharic and Arabic, often light-skinned, and either immigrants from South Arabia or the descendants of immigrants and their Abyssinian wives. [443] [442] Arab men are the town's most affluent merchants (who often make a weekly circuit of provincial markets with their goods), shop-keepers, and wholesalers. Arab women are secluded at home. In the main, Gondar's Muslims are residentially nucleated in Addis Allem, a settlement on the town's southern perimeter and contiguous to the arada.

632 563 463 [197] [562] A substantial number of Tigrinya-speaking people, predominantly Eritrean, live in Gondar. The men are employed mainly as artisans (carpenters, masons, sandal makers, tailors, tinkers), laborers, and ecclesiastics. Because of their relative sophistication, Eritrean women are popular servants for affluent townsmen, and as

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563 bar maids.

[463]
[562] A third, numerically significant minority have come from the provinces of Wollo to the east, and from Shoa and those areas still farther south. Local Amhara classify them together pejoratively as "Galla"[18], even [144] though many are in fact true Amhara. Although these "Galla" vary as to physical type, most are indistinguishable from local Amhara, and only a minority are markedly [779] negroid. Most are Copts or Muslims, although a few are [649] non-Coptic Christians. Most of the men are government employees, generally members of the provincial gendarmerie, which is headquartered in Gondar.

Three additional, numerically small, populations [562] also reside in Gondar. The Agaw are represented mainly [464] by girls and women working as servants for the less affluent townsfolk, and as beer sellers. Of the Kilotes [192] living here, the women work as servants for poor townsfolk, and both sexes haul wood from distant areas for [326] sale in the town's daily wood market (sir gabiya). The very few Falasha in Gondar are iron-mongers.

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621 Ward and Town. Gondar's residents divide the town

[18] The predominant ethnic group of southern Ethiopia, and, to Gondari Amhara, half-pagan and negroid ("bariya").

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

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621 into sixty-five named wards (sebekas). The social and demographic character of wards varies considerably, and it is useful to describe them in terms of two contrasting types. At one extreme, the ward resembles a kind
[241] of urban parish. It contains an eponymous Church; and
[423] a majority of residents are risteñas, members of land-owning ambilineages who support themselves by farming and renting homesteads on their lands. But even these wards contrast with rural parishes on several counts.
*[892] The ward is generally compact in size, and internally
• [463] undivided beyond the homestead (bet). Within it live out-landers who work outside the ward in exclusively non-agricultural occupations. Further, while the parish is administered in detail by residents, the ward relies upon non-resident agents of the municipality for its administration.

At the other extreme, are the town's "non-corporate"
[648] wards. During the Italian occupation, several of
[175] Gondar's parish-like wards were sequestered by the invaders as building sites. After liberation, the Imperial government divided each of these wards into tracts, which were deliniated according to the buildings upon them. Tracts were then given as grants (yaribeña mariet, "hero's land") to supporters of the government-in-exile, who were often non-residents of Gondar. In time, the pre-war boundaries of such wards were no longer regarded

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621 A Gondar Ward. Gabrael sebeka lies on Gondar's eastern flank, and is typical of those wards which are not given over entirely to talla sellers or tradesmen. [241] Until liberation, it was occupied by risteñas and cul- [423] tivators of timene and church lands (riym). During the [198] last three decades, the ward's character changed greatly, [795] as domiciles for out-landers were built on its fields, [342] and many of its erstwhile peasants took up employment in [463] the town. Today, the ward contains 198 residents. Ten [161] of its forty-four households are headed by Gondar-born 632 people; of these, five were born in Gabrael sebeka it- 621 self. The remaining household heads are a) Amhara from 592 other parts of Begemder (sixteen households), from Gojam (five households), and from Wollo (five households); b) Tigreans (three households); c) local Agaw (two households); d) Shoans (four households); and e) Sankella (one household). On the average, the ward's adult residents who were not born in Gondar have lived fifteen [241] years in this sebeka. With the exception of three house- [793] holds which still depend exclusively on farming, and [463] two local priests (sharing the Mass with priests residing in an adjacent ward), the ward's residents are supported by occupations which depend upon daily contact with [463] people of many other sebekas. In brief, seven household heads are policemen, thirteen hold other government employment, five work as zibañas, eight as wood cutters,

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two as talla sellers, and one each as mat seller, carpenter, day laborer, and pensioner.

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The practice of herbalist therapies in ward and town contrasts significantly with the situation in rural hamlet and parish. The relatively dense population of the town has important consequences. In the countryside, the closest herbalist needed for a specific episode may be a day's walk from the client's home; in the town several may be found within an hour's walk. The increase in herbalist therapies is not directly proportional to the increased population of town over countryside, however.

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In Gabrael sebeka, for example, only eighteen households (41% of the total) contain one or more herbalists. Many townfolk are forced to abstain from practicing herbalist therapies, because, as out-landers, they are unable or disinclined to locate needed botanicals. Also, significant numbers of townsfolk practice non-secular therapies, particularly as balazar.

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Further, although there are more redundant herbalist therapies potentially available to the townsman, he remains ignorant of many of them. The peasant locates himself within a network of several core kinsmen and neighbors upon whom he depends for information regarding herbalist chains. The townsman finds his place in a social matrix in which kinship ties are greatly diluted by distance. In Gabrael sebeka, for example, thirty-two house-

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*793 621 869 241 [732] as a means for dicusing and strengthening a risteña family's economic and social interests within the parish. There are two conspicuous exceptions. Should a boy bear a physical disability so severe that he will be unable to perform the basic subsistence activities of Amhara men, particularly plowing, he may be enrolled in the parish school as a prelude to a non-agricultural career beyond his natal parish. The alternatives are few. [463] [441] [563] work as an artisan is appropriate for Muslim and Falasha, but shameful for an Amhara; while employment as a merchant is less objectionable, the peasant is generally without the necessary skills, contacts, and capital; military service is beyond his abilities; thus, only the Church and government remain. Regarding the Church, the priesthood is closed to him, since a priest must be physically whole, and capable of standing unassisted during [647] the performance of the Mass. The remaining ecclesiastical and government career choices assume that a boy will achieve literacy at the parish school and subsequently *793 621 869 depart from his natal community. The second exception to the local focus of the parish school, is the small number of boys who are offspring of debtera-teachers ser- 593 ving in parish churches. The ties of these men to their parishes-of-residence are usually only professional, and they are rarely risteñas, it is moreover their professional ethos which influences them to seek an extensive